

# MILITARY POLICY ISSUES IN THE PROGRAMMES OF POLITICAL PARTIES



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According to the Constitution of Ukraine, laying down fundamentals of domestic and foreign policy falls under the competence of the Verkhovna Rada. On the eve of parliamentary election, experts and journalists are trying to forecast the composition of future Parliament and possible changes in Ukraine's political course<sup>1</sup>. Possible changes in priorities of the national *military policy*, despite all its importance, so far stay out of focus of journalists and political analysts.

This article presents methodological fundamentals of analysis of military aspects of programme documents of political parties derivative from the basic algorithm of formulation of military policy and military building proposed by experts of Razumkov Centre in earlier publications<sup>2</sup>. Analysed are the positions of 28 political parties that have chances to be represented in the newly elected Verkhovna Rada as presented in their basic documents — programmes (Table "*Military aspects of programmes of some political parties taking part in the 2002 parliamentary election*"<sup>3</sup>).

Information cited in the Table allows one to get an idea of the intentions, priorities, mechanisms and separate events of military policy one or another party advocates and intends (or at least promises) to pursue after coming to power. Possible legislative initiatives of Parliament on the issues of military policy, military reform and military building are forecasted on this basis.

## The methodology of party programme analysis

Proceeding from the mentioned algorithm of formulation of military policy and military building, the following four groups of issues are especially interesting for analysis, as compared to other programme provisions.

**Foreign policy directions**, i.e., party positions with respect to: actual or potential threats of military nature; acceptable (or unacceptable) mechanisms of conflict management; possibility of use of military force, relevant conditions and limitations, including with respect to the use of specific kinds of arms; participation of Ukraine in

military-political blocs, or non-aligned (neutral) status; strategic partners on whose support Ukraine may count in the event of military threat (aggression); priority directions of foreign policy, or multiplicity of its vectors; regional and/or global collective security systems and international organisations co-operation with which is to strengthen Ukraine's military security; Ukraine's peace-keeping activity, participation in anti-terrorist coalitions, military assistance to other countries or ban on the use of military units outside the national borders; goals and/or restrictions in arms trade, military-technical co-operation with other countries and international organisations; temporary or permanent presence of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g.: Mostova Yu., Rakhmanin S. A Resolute "No!" to Political Daltonism — *Zerkalo Nedeli*, January 26, 2002, p.1,2; Rakhmanin S. Imagine: They Take Their Seats... — *Zerkalo Nedeli*, February 2, 2002, p.1,3; <http://www.mirror.kiev.ua>.

<sup>2</sup> See: Military Reform in Ukraine: the Start or Another False Start? — *National Security & Defence*, 2000, No.1, p.26, <http://www.uceps.com.ua>. The algorithm scheme is also presented in an article by M.Sungurovskiy "Military Reform: Progress Against a Background of Stagnation" published in this issue of the magazine.

<sup>3</sup> Analysis covers the positions of the parties that won the 1998 election and/or have their factions in present Parliament, as well as the parties and electoral blocs that have real chances of winning the 2002 election, proceeding from the results of sociological survey held by Razumkov Centre (the results of the latest poll are presented in this issue of the magazine). Leaders of Peasant Party of Ukraine (S.Dovhan), *Yabluko* Party (M.Brodskiyi) and Electoral Bloc "Unity" (O.Omelchenko) expressed no desire to co-operate with the Centre within the framework of this project and did not answer our inquiry, so, their positions are not presented in the magazine.



## MILITARY ASPECTS OF PROGRAMMES OF SOME POLITICAL PARTIES TAKING PART IN THE 2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>1. Viktor YUSHCHENKO's Bloc "OUR UKRAINE". Leader — Viktor YUSHCHENKO</b>				
<b>Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists</b> Leader — Yaroslava Stetsko Programme approved on 28.06.1998, reaffirmed on 26.11.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Immediate exit of Ukraine from the neo-colonial formation — CIS.</li> <li>❖ Non-participation of Ukraine in any supra-state and interstate formations involving Russia.</li> <li>❖ Effective foreign policy activity of Ukraine along the geopolitical axes of East-West and North-South, including on the issues of European security.</li> <li>❖ Further development of co-operation with European and international actors in the field of co-operation and security (OSCE, the Council of Europe, Partnership for Peace, etc.) with the ultimate goal of integration in the system of European and world co-operation and European, trans-Atlantic (NATO) and global security.</li> <li>❖ Mutually advantageous co-operation with the USA on the issues of expansion of the international security system.</li> <li>❖ Relations with Russia should be the same as with all other countries and proceed from Ukraine's national interests.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the systems of global, transcontinental or regional security as an equal partner.</li> <li>❖ Liquidation of Russian military bases in Ukraine, withdrawal of Russia's Black Sea Fleet beyond its borders with reimbursement of damages sustained by Ukraine as a result of pollution of its land and sea, economic, military and other activity on the Fleet; denunciation of the treaties of the Black Sea Fleet and military bases in Sevastopol made with Russia.</li> <li>❖ Provision of independence of the Armed Forces, in particular, their equipment and maintenance, from foreign (Russian neo-imperial) factors.</li> <li>❖ Orientation of defence and foreign policy towards integration into the European security system and building the security and defence strategy of the Ukrainian state in reliance on the own forces (priority directions) and strengthening co-operation with expanded NATO partners.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Provision of the proper level of the own military potential is one of the key elements of establishment of pro-independence views in Ukraine's foreign policy.</li> <li>❖ Existence of a strong Ukrainian Army was and remains the cornerstone of the Ukrainian state.</li> <li>❖ Creation of the National Army, Ukrainian by its spirit and goals.</li> <li>❖ Formation of high national consciousness in the military on the basis of restoration in the Armed Forces of the glorious historic combat traditions of the Ukrainian Army, in particular, of the period of national liberation struggle of the 20th century (Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, <i>Sichovi Striltsi</i>, Ukrainian Galician Army, Ukrainian Insurgent Army).</li> <li>❖ Re-attestation of the top executives of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Defence, the General Staff, officers of the Armed Forces, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service of Ukraine, National Guard and Border Troops by the criteria of abidance by the position of statehood, professionalism and fluent command of the Ukrainian language.</li> <li>❖ State recognition of the struggle of OUN-UIA (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army) as just national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, with all political and legal consequences for the legitimate rights of OUN-UIA veterans and their families.</li> <li>❖ Creation of an effective system of formation of nationally conscious military staff, preparation of nationally conscious youth for study in higher military schools and service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Military-patriotic education on the basis of ideology of Ukrainian nationalism and the best military traditions of the Ukrainian Army of all times.</li> <li>❖ System of initial military training involving instructors from among officers - Ukrainian patriots and athletic upbringing of the youth.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Building of strong Armed Forces capable of delivering a destructive crushing blow and defeat any enemy with all its strength.</li> <li>❖ Equipment of the Armed Forces with all types of precise hi-tech weapon systems of the 7th-8th generations that presently play a key role in military operations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Establishment of the proper level of budget funding of defence.</li> <li>❖ Creation in Ukraine, irrespective of the development of other branches of economy, of an autonomous military-industrial complex on the basis of enterprises with a closed cycle of manufacture of basic weapon systems.</li> <li>❖ Self-sufficient military-industrial complex as the material and technical basis for maintaining the Armed Forces and defence capabilities of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Tank building, space vehicle and rocket production, aircraft construction, radio-electronic industry, shipbuilding, and instrument-making, as well as branches and industries where Ukraine holds or may acquire innovation leadership or strong competitive position on or above the world level.</li> <li>❖ Provision of all conditions for raising the standard of life, authority and effective activity of the military through priority goal-oriented funding.</li> <li>❖ Adequate social security of servicemen worth of Ukrainian commanders and soldiers.</li> <li>❖ Unique high spiritual culture of the Ukrainian Army.</li> </ul>

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>Liberal Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Volodymyr Shcherban Programme approved on 19.12.1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The military doctrine must envisage gradual harmonisation of Ukraine's defence structures with the pan-European security structure.</li> <li>❖ Non-deployment of foreign troops and bases on Ukraine's territory.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The military doctrine of Ukraine should be based on the concept of defence sufficiency.</li> <li>❖ The army should be used only for the protection of the country against external threats.</li> <li>❖ Military and law-enforcement structures of the state should act only within the limits of legislatively set functions and stay under appropriate parliamentary control.</li> <li>❖ Reformation of the Armed Forces in line with democratic and legal fundamentals of open civil society.</li> <li>❖ Reliable legal guarantees ruling out the use of the Armed Forces against its own people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Military building on the basis of the latest technical and technological achievements.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transition to the mixed system of the Armed Forces manning, and in the long run — to a professional army.</li> <li>❖ Reduction of the Armed Forces to a reasonable level.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Guaranteed provision by the state of retired servicemen with housing, free retraining in civilian professions, creation of working places.</li> <li>❖ All power ministries and their employees should be properly provided by the state with necessary equipment, and their staff — be socially protected.</li> <li>❖ Guaranteed adjournment of military service for students for the period of study.</li> <li>❖ Exempt of persons that obtained higher education from conscript service.</li> <li>❖ Extension of the list of alternative forms of military service.</li> </ul>
<b>Youth Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Yuriy Pavlenko Programme approved on 24.04.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Integration of Ukraine as a sovereign, humane state ruled by law into the world community.</li> <li>❖ Accelerated formation of the new European security model on the basis of the Corporate security platform for Europe and the European Security Charter.</li> <li>❖ Reformation of the UN with the aim of creating an effective global security system.</li> </ul>	—	—	—
<b>People's Rukh of Ukraine</b> Leader — Hennadiy Udovenko Programme (new edition) approved on 6.05.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's non-aligned status does not guarantee required security; Ukraine actually became a "buffer zone" between two military blocs — NATO and the Tashkent Treaty whose relations may be described as "cold peace".</li> <li>❖ Foreign policy doctrine based on the principles of indivisible economic, political, military integration with Europe and the world community, international and regional organisations.</li> <li>❖ Accession to the existing and newly-formed systems of universal and regional security.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's integration into the trans-Atlantic collective security systems as a decisive factor guaranteeing its national security.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Military security of Ukraine should be based on a system of guarantees ruling out the possibility of use of external military force or the threat of use to the detriment of Ukraine's national interests.</li> <li>❖ Structural elements of Ukraine's military security should include its military-political standing and defence capability.</li> <li>❖ Given the instability and "vacuum of power" in Eastern Europe and territorial claims, Ukraine is to ensure its defence capability through removal of external threat by military means.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine has no sufficient resources to build up military that might be capable of removing external threats by military means alone. Hence, Ukraine can guarantee its national security only by</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Formation of patriotism, readiness to self-sacrifice for the sake of the Ukrainian people, with account of the important role of ideological and moral state of the Ukrainian Army for ensuring Ukraine's defence capability.</li> <li>❖ Realistic assessment of military threats, available forces and means, resources, efficiency of international mechanisms.</li> <li>❖ Priority development of forces and means intended for identification of threats and containment of conflicts at early stages.</li> <li>❖ Avoidance of structural excessiveness and duplication of military structures.</li> <li>❖ Multifunctional employment and sufficiency of forces and means.</li> <li>❖ Gradual attainment of compatibility of the Armed Forces of Ukraine with armies of the partner countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Structural analysis of the military-industrial complex on Ukraine's territory, development of the programme of its conversion and reorganisation into Ukraine's defence industry.</li> <li>❖ Uniform standards of social guarantees for all military and law-enforcement structures.</li> <li>❖ Eradication of disgraceful phenomena of conscripts hazing and humiliation.</li> <li>❖ Effective operation of the socio-psychological service of the Armed Forces.</li> </ul>





	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Development of co-operation with the European and world security actors — OSCE, NATO, EU, WEU.</li> <li>❖ More active participation of Ukraine in the North Atlantic Co-operation Council and North Atlantic Assembly, promoting gradual transformation of those institutions, in combination with the Helsinki process, into components of the new pan-European security system.</li> <li>❖ Active development of military and military-technical co-operation with NATO, integration into NATO political structures.</li> <li>❖ Orientation of defence industry towards co-operation with European defence structures for ensuring Ukraine's security.</li> <li>❖ Active participation in peacekeeping forces, including jointly with NATO countries.</li> <li>❖ Immediate application of Ukraine for NATO membership.</li> <li>❖ Termination of Ukraine's membership in CIS and its structures; instead, strengthening bilateral relations with CIS countries.</li> <li>❖ Settlement of relations and disputes with Russia.</li> <li>❖ Withdrawal of Russian military formations from Ukraine's territory; denunciation of relevant bilateral agreements.</li> </ul>	<p>effectively combining foreign policy and military guarantees.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The decisive role is to be played by defence policy decisions, in particular: creation of a legal system, state and public institutes that ensure civilian control of the Armed Forces activity and military building.</li> <li>❖ Identification, on a scientific basis, of Ukraine's defence needs and means of their satisfaction.</li> <li>❖ Military reform on the basis of the following principles: priority of non-forcible means of settlement of international conflicts; strengthening of democratic civilian control over the military sphere; realistic assessment of military threats, available forces and means, resources, efficiency of international mechanisms, strengthening of partner confidence, possibilities of Ukraine's influence on the pan-European processes; priority development of forces and means intended for threat assessment and containment of conflicts at early stages; avoidance of structural excessiveness and duplication of structures; multifunctional employment and sufficiency of forces and means; uniform standards of social guarantees for all military and law-enforcement structures; gradual attainment of compatibility with armies of the partner countries; maximum preservation of effective military mechanisms, prevention of decline of combat effectiveness of the army in the course of reform; allocation of resources spared through reduction of ineffective structures to the solution of priority tasks of reform.</li> <li>❖ Ban in Ukraine on politicised and paramilitary organisations managed from outside Ukraine and those whose activity endangers national independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Maximum preservation of effective military mechanisms, prevention of decline of the combat effectiveness of the army in the course of reform.</li> <li>❖ Allocation of resources spared through reduction of ineffective military structures to the solution of priority tasks of reform.</li> </ul>	
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Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>Political Party "Forward, Ukraine!"</b> Leader — Volodymyr Musiyaka Programme approved on 6.02.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Maintenance and development of friendly relations with all countries, proceeding from Ukraine's non-aligned status.</li> <li>❖ European integration of Ukraine, maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations with the neighbouring countries.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with other countries in creation of a collective security system, in particular, participation in OSCE programmes.</li> <li>❖ Non-participation in political, military, economic structures that threaten the loss of independence, with incorporation of Ukraine into the sphere of influence of foreign countries.</li> </ul>	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Possibility of alternative military service.</li> </ul>
<b>Party "Reform and Order"</b> Leader — Viktor Pynzenyk Programme approved on 11.10.1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Foreign policy doctrine as an organic element of securing Ukraine's national interests.</li> <li>❖ Geopolitical goal of Ukraine — attainment by the state of a decent place and national identity in the world community and acquisition of a weighty role in the political architecture of the New Europe.</li> <li>❖ Active participation in international institutions and structures of the European community: the UN, the Council of Europe, NATO, etc.</li> <li>❖ Acquisition of the status of associated membership in the EU.</li> <li>❖ Effective interaction with the former USSR countries in the sphere of socio-economic and scientific-cultural co-operation.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with organisations of East and Central European countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ensuring military security by bringing the military doctrine and structure of the Armed Forces in conformity with the socio-economic standing of the state and public opinion.</li> </ul>	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Priority funding of the needs of education, science, culture, healthcare, and defence.</li> </ul>
<b>Party "Solidarity"</b> Leader — Petro Poroshenko Programme approved on 28.02.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Priority development of relations with the neighbouring countries, establishment of mutually advantageous economic co-operation between border regions of Ukraine and neighbouring countries.</li> </ul>	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Community support for the military staying in a difficult material situation.</li> <li>❖ Improvement of provision and social protection of the people in epaulets, with simultaneous strengthening of responsibility for their illegal acts against citizens.</li> </ul>
<b>Party "Christian-People's Union"</b> Leader — Volodymyr Stretovykh Programme approved on 14.11.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's establishment on the international scene as a peaceful nation.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's participation in building the "pan-European home" and development of co-operation with the European community.</li> <li>❖ Inadmissibility of the use of force in the practice of international relations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ We will build not just a state but a national state capable of maintaining its Armed Forces on a high technical, professional and moral level.</li> <li>❖ Democratic civilian control of the military sector and other structures within the national security system.</li> </ul>	—	—





	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Deepening of Ukraine's co-operation with NATO as an effective means of European and global security, security of Ukraine and its active participation in world politics.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's refusal from participation in political, economic and military structures of CIS.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Provision of democratic civilian control over the Military organisation of the state as one of the main directions of Ukraine's national security policy.</li> </ul>		
<b>Republican Christian Party</b> Leader — Mykola Porovskiy Programme approved on 3.06.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the UN Security Council as a permanent member.</li> <li>❖ Support for the Partnership for Peace programme.</li> <li>❖ Integration into European structures.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO.</li> <li>❖ Deepening of co-operation with the countries of the Baltic - Black Sea region.</li> <li>❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops from Ukraine's soil.</li> <li>❖ Orientation of the defence industry towards co-operation with European and world structures, strengthening ties with NATO in the interests of Ukraine.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Combination of foreign policy and military guarantees of Ukraine's security.</li> <li>❖ Civilian control over the Armed Forces activity and military building.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of military reform.</li> <li>❖ Maintenance of the Armed Forces on a high technical, professional and moral level.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Transfer to professional fundamentals of the Armed Forces formation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Separation of defence industry into a separate branch of economy.</li> <li>❖ Satisfaction of the needs of faithful among servicemen of the Armed Forces through the establishment of the chaplain service.</li> </ul>
<b>Ukrainian People's Rukh</b> Leader — Yuriy Kostenko Draft programme passed in general on 9.06.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine rejects war and forcible pressure as means of attaining success in politics.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's foreign policy shall be based on equal priority of political, economic, military and humanitarian components.</li> <li>❖ Integration into the European and world structures and European security system is the decisive precondition for employment of the guarantees of Ukraine's national security.</li> <li>❖ In its policy, Ukraine should proceed from the principle of indivisibility of economic, political and military integration with Europe.</li> <li>❖ Integration into the political structures of NATO and WEU.</li> <li>❖ Active development of military and military-technical co-operation with NATO and WEU.</li> <li>❖ The ultimate goal — Ukraine's accession to NATO as the basis of the new European collective security system.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's participation in regional and global security systems, such as OSCE and NATO.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's participation in the NATO Co-operation Council, in the activity of CSCE, the Council of Europe, European Parliament.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Identification of the system of national interests and threats to Ukraine's national security.</li> <li>❖ Development and approval by the Verkhovna Rada of an integral concept of Ukraine's national security setting an optimal balance of military and economic factors of Ukraine's existence as a sovereign state.</li> <li>❖ Constitutional provision of the fundamentals of an integral system of national security, adoption of legislative acts to govern social relations in the sphere of national security, state secrets, conversion of defence industry, intelligence and counter-intelligence activity of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Military security should be based on a system of guarantees ruling out the possibility of use of military force from outside or the threat of its use to the detriment of Ukraine's national interests.</li> <li>❖ Structural elements of Ukraine's military security should include its military-political standing and defence capability.</li> <li>❖ Given the instability and "vacuum of power" in Eastern Europe and territorial</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Creation of structures of civil resistance to enhance the steadiness of defence through its decentralisation and self-sustenance.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Structural analysis of the military-industrial complex on Ukraine's territory, development of the programme of its conversion and reorganisation into Ukraine's defence industry.</li> <li>❖ Orientation of defence industry towards co-operation with European defence structures.</li> </ul>

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Active participation in UN and UNESCO peacekeeping activities.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine should take part in the development of the ABM system and politically support the U.S. ABM programme.</li> <li>❖ The USA is the main strategic ally of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's membership in CIS poses permanent danger for the Ukrainian state.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's withdrawal from CIS.</li> <li>❖ Russia is the permanent source of instability and external threat for Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Withdrawal of Russian military formations from Ukraine's territory.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of Ukraine-NATO joint pilot project for prevention of and response to emergencies and a programme of disposal of aged ammunition left from World War II in the vicinity of Sevastopol and Kerch.</li> </ul>	<p>claims, Ukraine is to ensure its defence capability through removal of external threat by military means.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine has no sufficient resources to build up military might capable of removing external threats by military means alone. Hence, Ukraine can guarantee its national security only by effectively combining foreign policy and military guarantees.</li> <li>❖ The decisive role is to be played by defence policy decisions, in particular: creation of a legal system, state and public institutes that ensure civilian control of the Armed Forces activity and defence building.</li> <li>❖ Assessment of the actual military-political and geopolitical situation with the purpose of orientation of Ukraine's policy to the best provision of its national security.</li> <li>❖ Ban in Ukraine on paramilitary public organisations managed from outside Ukraine and those whose activity endangers territorial integrity and national independence of Ukraine.</li> </ul>	—	—
<b>2. Electoral Bloc Democratic Party of Ukraine - Party "Democratic Union". Leader — Volodymyr HORBULIN</b>				
<b>Democratic Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Hanna Antonyeva Programme approved on 15.12.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's establishment in the world community as a sovereign independent state pursuing a peaceful policy.</li> <li>❖ Creation of the pan-European and international security systems.</li> <li>❖ Participation in the NATO Co-operation Council, Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe and European Parliament.</li> <li>❖ Active participation in UN peacekeeping activity.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to permanent stationing of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory, including Russian Armed Forces on the military base in Sevastopol.</li> <li>❖ Non-proliferation, limitation, non-use and future elimination of nuclear arms all over the world.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Historically traditional for Ukraine defence doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Military doctrine of Ukraine as a non-nuclear state.</li> <li>❖ "Reasonable sufficiency" not as a stark constant but as a factor in every concrete period of Ukraine's history determined by the military-political situation in the region and economic capabilities of the state.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Defence policy is based on the assumption that for Ukraine, the ratio of military personnel to the entire population of the country (0.8-0.9%) is too high, given the economic capabilities, and this disparity should be done away with at the expense of development of modern weapons and command and control systems, adequate ideological and socio-psychological support for the activity, combat and mobilisation readiness of the army.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Budget funding of the state network of specialist training for the Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Free medical care for servicemen within the framework of first aid.</li> </ul>
<b>Party "Democratic Union"</b> Leader — Volodymyr Horbulin Programme approved on 23.05.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Multi-vectored foreign policy based on the principles of neutrality, non-alignment, preservation of national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of Ukraine's state borders.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Clear identification of potential threats to our independence in the national security doctrine, formulation on this basis of measures aimed at strengthening the defence capability of the state.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Transfer of the Armed Forces to manning on a contractual basis.</li> <li>❖ Provision of the Armed Forces with defence materiel in line with the functions entrusted to them.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Development of the military-industrial complex in the direction of maximum autonomy, full production cycle, independence from foreign suppliers.</li> <li>❖ Raising the prestige of military service.</li> </ul>







	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Decent participation of Ukraine in international efforts at resolution of local conflicts, fighting international terrorism and crime.</li> <li>❖ Defence co-operation and military-industrial co-operation is admissible only with those states that do not raise territorial claims on Ukraine and other countries, respect the principle of state sovereignty and do not endanger international stability with their policy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Military doctrine of the state is to be based on the priority of strengthening the defence potential of the Armed Forces and their equipment in line with the needs of "reasonable sufficiency".</li> <li>❖ The military-industrial complex is to stay in state ownership.</li> <li>❖ The Armed Forces [to stay] beyond politics.</li> <li>❖ Ban on participation of active duty servicemen in state power bodies.</li> <li>❖ Formation of the officers corps by the criteria of combination of national consciousness and proper professional level of the military.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Re-equipment of the army in accordance with the European criteria.</li> <li>❖ Introduction of the institute of reservists.</li> <li>❖ Extension and strengthening of the network of military training of civilian population.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Payment of money allowances to servicemen and military pensions irrespective of the situation in the social sphere.</li> </ul>
<b>3. Bloc "FOR A UNITED UKRAINE!". Leader — Volodymyr LYTUVN</b>				
<b>Agrarian Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Mykhailo Hladiy Programme approved on 5.02.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Active multi-vectored foreign policy of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ The priority of Ukraine's foreign policy — integration into the European and world community, international and regional organisations.</li> <li>❖ Balanced relations with the Western countries and with the countries of CIS.</li> <li>❖ The geopolitical prospect of Ukraine is to be a link between the West and the East, not a buffer between two military-political blocs.</li> <li>❖ Accession to such political-legal structures as the renewed Union or the Union of Slav Peoples does not match the present stage of historic development of our country.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Defence character of Ukraine's military doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Immediate implementation of military reform.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Defence of the national interests of the state on the principles of non-nuclear status, highly technological defence system, reasonable sufficiency of the army and fleet.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transformation of the Armed Forces on a professional basis.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ High level of social protection of servicemen.</li> </ul>
<b>People's Democratic Party</b> Leader — Valeriy Pustovoitenko Programme (new edition) approved on 22.04.2000, amended on 2-3.12.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's international security is related with close co-operation with international and European organisations, participation in the collective efforts of the world community at prevention of armed conflicts.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine should be an active participant of the collective security process in Europe.</li> <li>❖ Permanent status of a neutral state does not fit the geopolitical place of Ukraine between expanded NATO and Russia any longer.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's orientation to co-operation with NATO.</li> <li>❖ Transformation of NATO into the pan-European collective security system.</li> <li>❖ Given the unprecedented character of unilateral nuclear disarmament of Ukraine, it should seek effective guarantees of the world community, in particular, the UN, OSCE, nuclear states, regarding Ukraine's security and preservation of its territorial integrity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Immediate implementation of the comprehensive military reform.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Immediate formation of comparatively small, highly efficient professional Armed Forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ High level of social protection of servicemen.</li> <li>❖ Development of alternative service.</li> <li>❖ Granting retired servicemen priority employment rights.</li> <li>❖ Allocation of sufficient funds to maintain military hospitals for war veterans.</li> </ul>



Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>The Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine</b> Leader — Anatoliy Kinakh Programme approved on 9.02.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Pursuance of a peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment and multi-vectored approach.</li> <li>❖ Non-participation in military blocs.</li> <li>❖ Policy based on the Concept of National Security, where priority is attached not as much to military factors as to the means of gradual transformation of Ukraine's national security system into an effective element of universal security, efforts of the world community aimed at preservation of peace, demilitarisation, democratisation and humanisation of international relations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The military-industrial complex is to stay under state control.</li> <li>❖ Perfection of the system of military education in secondary school, granting every student the right to undergo military training.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Development of the Armed Forces on the basis of the "reasonable sufficiency" doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of the Armed Forces defence potential on the level of European standards.</li> <li>❖ The future of national defence rests with the professional army, service in which would become a prestigious affair.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transition, within a five-year term, to contractual service.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Introduction of an effective system of social protection of war veterans.</li> </ul>
<b>Party of the Regions</b> Leader — Volodymyr Semynozhenko Programme approved on 3.03.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The processes of geo-strategic and defence policy identification of Ukraine in the present world characterised by rapid changes and appearance of new global military, information, environmental, economic, and cultural identification threats require account of increased risks to the national development, generation of adequate responses and adjustment of the national policy.</li> <li>❖ Further development and optimisation of Ukraine's co-operation with NATO for the sake of fully-fledged participation in the European security system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Establishment of effective political and public control over the activity of power structures.</li> <li>❖ Reform of the defence sector should encourage the establishment of the new European defence identity of the country, provision of military-political conditions and guarantees of its national security.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reform of the military sphere should encourage formation of modern, mobile and well-equipped Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Defence industry policy oriented towards modernisation of weapon systems and military hardware.</li> <li>❖ Development of military science, priority funding of military R&amp;D, first of all, in the field of precise weapon systems.</li> <li>❖ Registration of persons subject to draft and identification of optimal combination of quantitative and qualitative parameters of the Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transition to a professional army and contractual forms of service.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Restructuring and technological modernisation of the military-industrial complex.</li> <li>❖ Creation of an effective system of social protection of servicemen.</li> <li>❖ Drawing up and implementation of goal-oriented programmes of support for retired servicemen and social assistance to military pensioners.</li> </ul>
<b>Political Party "Labour Ukraine"</b> Leader — Serhiy Tyhypko Programme approved on 19.05.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The act of Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament was unprecedented. Hence, we dare demand special guarantees of security, preservation of statehood and territorial integrity from the UN, OSCE and nuclear states.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine should be an active participant in the process of collective security in Europe.</li> </ul>	—	—	—
<b>4. Nataliya VITRENKO's Bloc. Leader — Nataliya VITRENKO</b>				
<b>Party of Educationalists of Ukraine</b> Leader — Vadym Komisarov Programme approved on 17.11.2001	—	—	—	—
<b>Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Nataliya Vitrenko Programme approved on 11.10.1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Recognition of Russia and Belarus as strategic allies of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Priority development of relations with CIS countries.</li> <li>❖ Creation of a collective security system, first of all, with Russia and Belarus, other CIS countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Public control of the state of the Armed Forces and observance of statutory norms.</li> <li>❖ Immediate nationalisation of objects vital for the national security, in particular, enterprises of the military-industrial complex.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Strengthening the defence potential of the state at the expense of army equipment with highly effective, including precision-guided weapon.</li> <li>❖ Building of the Armed Forces on the principles of combination of professional work of permanent staff and conscripts</li> </ul>	—





	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Denunciation of the Charter of Distinct Partnership with NATO.</li> <li>❖ Ban on NATO exercises on Ukraine's territory.</li> <li>❖ Co-ordination of political, economic, cultural, military interests on a parity basis for the restoration of the USSR.</li> </ul>		drafted on the basis of the universal military duty.	
<b>5. Yuliya TYMOSHENKO's Bloc. Leader — Yuliya TYMOSHENKO</b>				
<b>All-Ukrainian Association <i>Batkivshchyna</i></b> Leader — Yuliya Tymoshenko Programme approved on 27.04.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ European integration of Ukraine, preparation for and future membership in the EU are the main tasks of the state for the next decade.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to artificial involvement of Ukraine into new union states.</li> <li>❖ Support for complete nuclear disarmament.</li> <li>❖ Preservation of the non-aligned status of Ukraine for the period of 2001-2005.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with NATO as a guarantee of Ukraine's security.</li> <li>❖ Creation of an effective collective security system in Europe.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's readiness for the participation in formation of international military structures for peacekeeping operations held under the auspices of and mandated by the UN.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The main political goal in the sphere of national security and defence — protection of sovereign statehood and successful development of the country.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of Ukraine's defence potential.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of an effective military reform.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Continuous strengthening of the Armed Forces, strengthening of their combat effectiveness through consistent military-political and economic transformation in military building.</li> <li>❖ Conformity of numerical strength, composition, structure of the Armed Forces with economic capabilities and present military-political standing of the state.</li> <li>❖ Priority goal — transition to a small professional army.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Raising the efficiency of conversion of the military-industrial complex.</li> <li>❖ Introduction of an effective mechanism of maintenance of servicemen.</li> <li>❖ Improvement of social protection of servicemen and their family members who have no opportunity to work.</li> <li>❖ Provision of proper social and living conditions for servicemen, decent pays and pensions.</li> </ul>
<b>Ukrainian People's Party <i>Sobor</i></b> Leader — Anatoliy Matviyenko Programme approved on 25.12.1999, amended on 18.02.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Clear European orientation of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Revision of Ukraine's non-aligned status.</li> <li>❖ Full membership in the EU and NATO.</li> <li>❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops from Ukraine's territory.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reform of the national defence policy.</li> <li>❖ Development and approval of the new defence doctrine providing for the establishment of the proper national security system.</li> <li>❖ Transformation of the Armed Forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Use in the military sphere of up-to-date achievements of science and technology as the guarantee of reliable protection of the state against possible external threats.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Proper funding and logistics of the Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Bringing the terms of military service in compliance with NATO standards.</li> </ul>
<b>Ukrainian Republican Party</b> Leader — Levko Lukyanenko Programme approved on 30.04.1990 amended on 2.06.1991, 1.05.1992, 1.05.1993, 10.09.1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Abidance by the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment to aggressive military blocs, settlement of conflict situations by means of negotiations.</li> <li>❖ Incorporation of Ukraine into the pan-European collective security system.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the Partnership for Peace programme as a transitional stage on the road to full NATO membership.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Creation of an effective national security system that would protect human rights and freedoms and fundamental values of the sovereign national state.</li> <li>❖ The national Armed Forces are an indispensable attribute of the state, a guarantor of Ukraine's independence.</li> <li>❖ Legislative provision of guarantees of the Armed Forces' non-use against own people and non-interference of the army in struggle of different political forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Building of the Armed Forces on the principle of "reasonable sufficiency".</li> <li>❖ Building of the Armed Forces on a professional (contractual) basis.</li> </ul>	—
<b>Ukrainian Social Democratic Party</b> Leader — Vasyl Onopenko Programme approved on 3.10.1998, amended on 4.03.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ International and European integration of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Definition of Ukraine's course towards European integration as a priority of the national foreign policy doctrine.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Existence of modern and powerful Armed Forces as a precondition for Ukraine's state sovereignty, independence, ability to pursue independent domestic and foreign policy.</li> <li>❖ Termination of senseless destruction of the national defence potential.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Building of an effective army.</li> <li>❖ Formation of the Armed Forces on the principle of professionalism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Increase in the share of budget funding of the Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Use of the mechanism of state order for encouragement of the scientific-technical potential of the military-industrial complex.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of a programme of preferential provision of retired servicemen with housing.</li> </ul>

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>6. All-Ukrainian Political Association "WOMEN FOR THE FUTURE". Leader — Valentyna DOVZHENKO</b>				
<p><b>All-Ukrainian Political Association "Women for the Future"</b> Leader — Valentyna Dovzhenko Programme approved on 4.03.2001</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Establishment of political and military partnership relations with EU and NATO countries.</li> <li>❖ Activity within the framework of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe as a regional priority direction of Ukraine's foreign policy.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's strategic goal — full-scale integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures and fully-fledged participation in the pan-European security system.</li> <li>❖ Mutually advantageous defence co-operation with other countries.</li> <li>❖ Refusal from the deployment and use of the Armed Forces of Ukraine beyond its borders.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Development of the concept of reliability and sufficiency of defence.</li> <li>❖ Development and adoption of the new military doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Effective civilian control over the military sector, including production, export and import of arms.</li> <li>❖ The Ministry of Defence is to be headed by a civilian person.</li> <li>❖ The functions and tasks of every power structure must be clearly defined, no ambiguous interpretation shall be allowed. The functions and tasks should be as detailed as possible so as on their basis the military might calculate allocation of resources and funds, draw up plans of preparation and employment of forces, and civilians might objectively check budget proposals of the military, control training of troops and their readiness to perform specified functions and tasks.</li> <li>❖ Effective civilian control alone may ensure openness of the processes of discussion and adoption of state decisions pertaining to the sphere of defence sector development.</li> <li>❖ Secrecy shall be applied only to information, dissemination of which may harm the national interests of the state.</li> <li>❖ State power bodies and the military itself should not classify information in order to conceal their errors, deficiencies and abuses.</li> <li>❖ Inadmissibility, in peacetime, of forcible draft to the Armed Forces, as this runs contrary to the freedom of choice of the place of residence, business and way of life.</li> <li>❖ Restoration of criminal responsibility for the issue and execution of illegal and criminal orders.</li> <li>❖ Legislative qualification of the use of the army against civilian population for suppression of peaceful meetings and demonstration as a crime against the state.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reduction of the Armed Forces should be made up by the increase in their combat effectiveness.</li> <li>❖ Transfer to a well-paid, limited in number, but well-equipped and effective professional army manned on a voluntary basis.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of military reform programme envisaging reduction of the army and its budget with a simultaneous increase in its mobility and combat efficiency.</li> <li>❖ Main accent in military reform should be made on increasing the level of combat training of troops, equipment of the army with modern weapons and its manning on a professional basis.</li> <li>❖ Reduction of the Armed Forces; optimisation of the system of other military formations. Real-world combat training of the remaining units deployed at full strength.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reorganisation of defence industry; maintenance of necessary funding of basic R&amp;D and priority allocation of funds to procurements for Air Defence Forces and Air Force; maintenance of the minimum scientific and production base required for other arms, including at the expense of expansion of international military-technical co-operation.</li> <li>❖ In the military-industrial complex — formation of "centres" of breakthrough where Ukrainian manufacturers might win a good standing on the world market of high-tech products.</li> <li>❖ Preservation and development, with state support, of advanced branches of the military-industrial complex that determine future military-technical needs of the country.</li> <li>❖ Families of servicemen should stay in the focus of attention of the state.</li> <li>❖ Main accent in military reform should be made on improvement of the conditions of life and service of the military.</li> <li>❖ Higher pay for the military and better provision with housing.</li> <li>❖ Creation of an effective insurance system.</li> <li>❖ Raising the prestige of service in the Armed Forces.</li> </ul>





7. COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Petro SYMONENKO				
<b>Communist Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Petro Symonenko Programme approved on 12.03.1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Revival of the Union of equal fraternal nations on a new basis as a voluntary union of sovereign socialist states participation in which meets the supreme interests of the people of Ukraine. We see the new Union as a community of fraternal nations that decided to join their efforts in the spheres of economy, foreign policy, defence and other domains.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening security and defence capability of the state on the basis of reasonable sufficiency and joining the CIS collective security system.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to the plans of Ukraine's incorporation into NATO military structures, its transformation into a buffer, a sanitary border between the Western states and Russia.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ The duty of the Armed Forces is to defend the interests of the working people.</li> <li>❖ Establishment of effective control of the masses over the activity of all bodies of power, including all power structures.</li> <li>❖ The use of the Armed Forces for settlement of internal conflicts is unacceptable in principle.</li> <li>❖ CPU condemns attempts to impose on servicemen nationalist ideology, incite them against the peoples and armies of Russia and other friendly states — our natural allies under the pretext of "de-politisation" of military units, border troops, law-enforcement bodies.</li> <li>❖ Non-interference of the Church in education of soldiers.</li> </ul>	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ When drawing up strategy and tactics in line with the needs of the country and all working people, specificity and interests of such social groups as war veterans and military servants should be taken into account.</li> <li>❖ State guarantees of decent conditions for servicemen and their families.</li> <li>❖ Employment of retired servicemen and reservists in the national economy.</li> <li>❖ Provision of all officers and non-commissioned officers with orderly housing, including at the expense of illegally seized built country houses and villas.</li> </ul>
8. GREEN PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Vitaliy KONONOV				
<b>Green Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Vitaliy Kononov Programme (new edition) approved on 27.11.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Encouragement of formation of a multi-pole world order and development of regional co-operation.</li> <li>❖ Initiation and maintenance of a permanent dialogue between the Eastern and Western countries with the purpose of prevention of possible global conflicts.</li> <li>❖ Complete ban on all weapons of mass destruction.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to the use of force in international relations, forcible methods of regional conflict resolution.</li> <li>❖ Creation of the European collective security system based on non-forcible factors.</li> <li>❖ Preservation of Ukraine's neutral status.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to Ukraine's accession to any military blocs.</li> <li>❖ Granting Ukraine a seat of a permanent non-nuclear member of the UN Security Council.</li> <li>❖ Impossibility of permanent deployment of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory; impossibility of extension of the term of Russia's Black Sea Fleet stationing in Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Declaration of the Black Sea region an area free from nuclear arms; gradual transformation of the region into a demilitarised zone.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Opposition to arms trade.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Gradual professionalism of the Armed Forces within clearly set terms.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Extension of the list of grounds for alternative military conscript service for the period of gradual transition to a professional armed forces.</li> </ul>

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
<b>9. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF UKRAINE (united). Leader — Viktor MEDVEDCHUK</b>				
<b>Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united)</b> Leader — Viktor Medvedchuk Programme approved on 17.06.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Peaceful foreign policy.</li> <li>❖ Preservation of Ukraine's non-nuclear, non-aligned status.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with the UN and OSCE playing an important role in conflict prevention.</li> <li>❖ Integration into the European community, participation in creation of the pan-European security system.</li> <li>❖ Formation of the pan-European security system by transforming the West European Union into the pan-European Union involving all European countries.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with NATO as a respectful security and defence organisation on the European continent.</li> <li>❖ Employment of the opportunities offered to Ukraine by the Charter of Distinct Partnership with NATO.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of strategic partnership with Russia as a key actor in the European security and stability system.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of strategic partnership with the USA.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of co-operation with CIS, East European, Black Sea - Baltic region, Balkan countries.</li> <li>❖ Creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central and Eastern Europe as the first step towards transformation of Europe into a nuclear-free continent.</li> <li>❖ Reliable guarantees of Ukraine's state sovereignty and territorial integrity.</li> <li>❖ The priority of political, diplomatic and other non-military methods of providing for Ukraine's defence and security.</li> <li>❖ Possibility of resolute use of military force for the defence of vital national interests of Ukraine when the potential of non-military means is exhausted.</li> <li>❖ Participation in peacekeeping missions under the UN auspices.</li> <li>❖ Policy of protectionism with respect to defence enterprises on the external market, creation of favourable foreign policy conditions for export of defence industry produce to other countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Strengthening of the defence potential of the state.</li> <li>❖ Stable and effective functioning of the Armed Forces, Internal Troops, Militia, other military and law-enforcement structures as the most important pillar of overall stability in the state, decisive factor of strengthening its sovereignty and national security.</li> <li>❖ Exclusively defensive character of the new military doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Principle of reasonable sufficiency of the military capabilities of the state.</li> <li>❖ Reduction of the term of military service.</li> <li>❖ Gradual refusal from the principle of universal military duty, transfer to a professional army.</li> <li>❖ Establishment of effective public control over the activity of military formations on the part of public organisations, such as veteran unions and association of parents of servicemen.</li> <li>❖ Privatisation of defence enterprises.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Implementation of the State Programme of Reform and Development of the Armed Forces through 2005.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of military reform on the basis of the new military doctrine.</li> <li>❖ Reduction of the army and optimisation of its structure in line with the priorities of development of military formations, economic capabilities of the state and its international status of a non-nuclear, non-aligned country.</li> <li>❖ Raising combat efficiency of the army to a new organisational and technical level.</li> <li>❖ Constant technical renovation of the army, designing of new military hardware and weapon systems.</li> <li>❖ Priority development of military intelligence, rapid reaction component of the Armed Forces, Border Troops, mobile civil defence units and anti-terrorist units of the Security Service of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transition to a small but well-equipped and trained professional army manned on the basis of voluntary contractual recruitment.</li> <li>❖ Drawing up and implementation of modern programmes of conscript training, reservist training and retraining.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transition of the army to the world military organisation and technical standards.</li> <li>❖ Bringing the system of military education and professional training of servicemen in compliance with present-day requirements.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Restructuring of and resolute state support for the military-industrial complex.</li> <li>❖ State order for the production of defence industry enterprises placed on a competitive basis.</li> <li>❖ Sufficient budget funding of the Armed Forces.</li> <li>❖ Creation of adequate social and living conditions of military servants and their families as a precondition for effective military reform.</li> <li>❖ Significant increase of incomes and the standard of life of military servants, strengthening of their social protection.</li> <li>❖ Solution of the housing problem of servicemen.</li> <li>❖ Introduction of special medical insurance of those employed in the spheres of increased risk (Armed Forces, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service, etc.).</li> <li>❖ State support for war veterans.</li> <li>❖ Encouragement of science development through social order for the defence problem study.</li> <li>❖ Elimination of crimes committed by servicemen in the army environment, manifestations of non-statutory relations, facts of corruption and organised crime.</li> </ul>





	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Restoration of mutually advantageous co-operative ties between Ukrainian defence factories and their former partners in CIS countries.</li> <li>❖ Development of international co-operation of enterprises of the military-industrial complex with defence and military-industrial entities of foreign, first of all, European countries.</li> <li>❖ Attainment of compatibility of weapon systems and communication equipment with European countries as an important precondition for strengthening Ukraine's partner relations with European military-political structures.</li> </ul>			
<b>10. SOCIALIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Oleksandr MOROZ</b>				
<b>Socialist Party of Ukraine</b> Leader — Oleksandr Moroz Programme (new edition) approved on 20.05.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's non-aligned status.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to expansion of the military organisation of NATO.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's participation in multilateral peacekeeping forces under the auspices of UN and OSCE.</li> <li>❖ Mutually advantageous large-scale co-operation of Ukraine with all countries.</li> <li>❖ Priority fraternal relations with Russia, Belarus and other neighbours, consolidation and protection of Slavdom.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Defence policy as an element of Ukraine's national security policy is intended to maintain strong defence capabilities of the state.</li> <li>❖ Implementation of the doctrine incorporating a set of interrelated defence, political, economic and military-technical measures.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of security and defence.</li> <li>❖ Patriotic upbringing of citizens.</li> <li>❖ Prevention of establishment of anti-constitutional armed formations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reform of the Armed Forces in line with the principle of defence sufficiency.</li> <li>❖ Transition to formation of the Armed Forces on the basis of combination of professional and mandatory military service.</li> <li>❖ Production and upgrading of weapons in quantitative and qualitative terms for maintaining combat readiness sufficient to repel any aggression against Ukraine.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Careful preservation of the entire military-industrial complex.</li> <li>❖ Decent pay for and high social status of military service.</li> <li>❖ Social and legal protection of servicemen and their families, reservists and retirees.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of the army's authority, traditional respect for the defenders of Motherland.</li> <li>❖ Possibility of alternative service.</li> </ul>



**Domestic policy directions** with respect to: development of new doctrinal documents in the military sphere and their fundamentals; functions of military formations; possibility of performance of internal functions by the Armed Forces; participation of the military in political processes; mechanisms of introduction of democratic civilian control over the military; principles and fundamentals of military reform and military building; human resources policy in the Armed Forces; military training of civilian population, reserve units, etc.

**Military priorities**, i.e., party positions with respect to: assessment of the achieved level of combat readiness of troops and defence capability of the state in general;

numerical strength of the Armed Forces; forms and methods of armed struggle; basic weapon systems; recruitment system; professionalism of the army; priority directions of military building; logistics; education in the army, etc.

**Economic and social aspects** of military policy, primarily: targets of budget funding of the military sector; directions and priorities of the military-industrial complex development; standards of social guarantees of the military; possibility of alternative service; ways of resolving problems of social security of servicemen, members of their families, pensioners and veterans (housing, medical care, life insurance, social adaptation of retired servicemen, etc.).

#### PARTIES' POSITIONS ON ACTUAL ASPECTS OF MILITARY POLICY

	Left and centre left	Centre	Right and centre right	Total parties
Sources of threat	—	—	Russia (UNR); CIS (CUN, UNR); instability and "vacuum of power" in Eastern Europe (NRU, UNR); territorial claims (NRU, UNR)	3
Non-aligned status	SPU	DU, GPU, PIEU, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, FU	7
Multi-vectored foreign policy	—	APU, DU, PIEU	FU	4
Tashkent Treaty membership	CPU, PSPU	—	—	2
NATO membership	—	WFF	CUN, NRU, RCP, Sobor, UNR, URP	8
Quitting CIS	—	—	CUN, NRU, ChPU, UNR	4
Strategic partners (security guarantees)	Russia and Belarus (PSPU)	NATO (NDP)	NATO (Batkivshchyna); USA (UNR)	4
Participation in European, regional and global collective security systems	SPU	APU, DemPU, DU, WFF, NDP, GPU, PIEU, PR, SDPU(u), LU	Batkivshchyna, FU, CUN, YPU, R&O, RCP, UNR, URP, USDP, ChPU	21
Peacekeeping	SPU	DemPU, DU, NDP, PIEU, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, NRU, UNR	9
Opposition to foreign (Russian) military bases	—	DemPU, GPU	CUN, LPU, NRU, RCP, Sobor, UNR	8
Civilian control over the military	CPU, PSPU	WFF, PR, SDPU(u)	CUN, LPU, NRU, RCP, UNR, ChPU	11
Ownership of defence enterprises	Nationalisation (PSPU)	State control (PIEU); privatisation (SDPU(u))	—	3
New Military Doctrine	SPU	DemPU, DU, WFF, SDPU(u)	LPU, NRU, R&O, Sobor, UNR	10
Military reform	SPU	APU, WFF, NDP, PR, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, NRU, RCP, Sobor	10
Professional army	—	APU, DU, WFF, NDP, GPU, PIEU, PR, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, LPU, RCP, URP, USDP	13
Strengthening defence capability	CPU, PSPU, SPU	WFF, PIEU, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, CUN, USDP	9
Reduction of the Armed Forces	—	WFF, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, LPU	4
Defence budget increase	—	SDPU(u)	CUN, Sobor, USDP	4
Social protection of servicemen	CPU, SPU	APU, DemPU, DU, WFF, NDP, PR, SDPU(u)	Batkivshchyna, CUN, LPU, NRU, Sobor, Solidarity, USDP	16

**Abbreviations of party names:** APU — Agrarian Party of Ukraine; FU — Political Party "Forward, Ukraine!"; DemPU — Democratic Party of Ukraine; DU — Party "Democratic Union"; WFF — All-Ukrainian Political Association "Women for the Future"; CPU — Communist Party of Ukraine; CUN — Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists; LPU — Liberal Party of Ukraine; YPU — Youth Party of Ukraine; NDP — People's Democratic Party; NRU — People's Rukh of Ukraine; GPU — Green Party of Ukraine; PIEU — Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine; PR — Party of the Regions; R&O — Party "Reforms and Order"; PSPU — Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine; RCP — Republican Christian Party; SDPU(u) — Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united); SPU — Socialist Party of Ukraine; LU — Political Party "Labour Ukraine"; UNR — Ukrainian People's Rukh; URP — Ukrainian Republican Party; USDP — Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; ChPU — "Christian People's Union".

Provisions dealing with these four groups of issues, if present in the programmes, are cited under relevant headlines in the above-mentioned Table (pp. 9-21). Comparative analysis of programme provisions along the mentioned parameters allows identifying specific features of military policy as proposed by separate parties (summarised in the Table "Parties' positions on actual aspects of military policy").

#### Reservations

Significance of party programme provisions should not be overestimated. Programme analysis may turn into scholasticism unless the following circumstances are taken into account.

**First of all**, some parties adopted their programmes quite a while ago, in 1994-1995, in a somewhat different internal and external situation; some parties after the adoption of programmes were headed by new leaders whose political orientations significantly differ not only from those of their predecessors, but also from the programme principles of the party. Furthermore, some parties from the very beginning were intended to service concrete persons or designed as business projects; hence, their programmes were viewed as documents needed only for party registration.

**Second**, the majority of programmes is schematic and lacks comprehensive presentation of views on military policy issues. In no way may this be viewed as their drawback — after all, a party programme is not a reference book on military issues. However, absence of a stated





position on a fundamental issue in a programme means absence of party commitments (although allows space for manoeuvre).

**Third**, as is clear from the Table, the programmes of some parties are “multi-vectored”. Such programmes contain a list of right goals if each of them is viewed separately; however, they appear incompatible and unattainable, if taken all together.

**Finally**, apart from programme provisions, party activity is influenced by a number of internal and external, objective and subjective factors, including situational ones that can hardly be predicted. For instance, it appeared that **the declared positions of parties on fundamental issues of military policy were neither decisive nor even significant for establishment of electoral blocs**<sup>4</sup>.

Hence, the forecasts of parliamentary activity of parties made on the basis of their programmes are rather conventional. At the same time, distinction of the most urgent problems on which parties have definite positions and therefore *intend to promote them* allow identifying the priorities that may be common for the majority (or an influential group) of parties. Exactly those priorities may more firmly be taken into account when forecasting new Parliament's activity.

### What to expect from new Parliament?

❖ **Foreign policy directions.** Parties, irrespective of their political orientation, declare a peaceful foreign policy and rejection of forcible methods of conflict settlement. Parties avoid definition of sources of potential threats. At the same time, the need to guarantee security brings Ukraine's participation in military-political blocs and search for allies to the front. Quite logically, geopolitical orientations of the right condition their sympathies to NATO and the USA, of the left — to the Tashkent Treaty, Russia and Belarus.

Despite these differences, **Parliament of the new convocation will hardly fundamentally change — or, rather, ultimately set — foreign policy directions of the national defence policy.** Ukraine's accession to the Tashkent Treaty has no positive prospects. At the same time, long-term preservation of Ukraine's non-aligned status seems unlikely. Co-operation with NATO and European security structures will deepen. Qualitative changes may be expected after Ukraine becomes an associated member of the EU, and Ukraine's defence enterprises take part in joint Euro-Atlantic projects.

❖ **Domestic policy directions.** The majority of influential parties declares the necessity of development of a new Military Doctrine, implementation of military reform on its basis (with emphasis not only on

the military means of securing defence potential), strengthening democratic civilian control over the Military organisation, expansion of powers of Parliament at formulation of military policy, a say in appointments. These issues may unite the right and the left.

**Initiatives may be expected pertaining to amending not only the basic laws in the military sphere but also the Constitution of Ukraine. At the same time, the vagueness and contradiction of party positions cast doubt on the results of such initiatives. It is not ruled out that concrete issues of military building will as before be lost in debates, and their solution will rest with the executive branch.**

❖ **Military priorities.** The majority of influential parties declare strengthening of the national defence potential, raising combat readiness of the army, its full provision with resources. The most frequently mentioned priorities of military building include transition to a professional Armed Forces. Realisation of those declarations requires reduction of the numerical strength of the Armed Forces (mentioned in four party programmes) with a simultaneous increase in their funding (also proposed by only four parties). The latter factor transfers the issue of professional army from the purely military sphere to the economic sphere, in the first place.

**Most probably, parliamentary debates about military priorities will focus on the search for sources of funds and the effectiveness of use of budget funds by power structures.**

❖ **Economic and social aspects.** In the majority of cases, party programmes only set the goals, principles and intentions but contain no mechanisms of attainment of the declared goals. This particularly refers to provision with resources. Given the commitment of society to provide social guarantees for citizens in general and servicemen in particular, parties will try to promote legislative initiatives related with legal support for social guarantees for servicemen and their families. However, the prospects of resolution of those problems remain vague.

Summing up, it may be expected that newly-elected Parliament will make an attempt to take upon itself some powers at formulation of the basic guidelines of military policy and military building presently vested (*de jure* or *de facto*) in the executive branch. The success or failure of this attempt will depend on the balance of forces; advantage will belong to those parties that have, first of all, a tested co-ordinated (coherent) approach to the solution of problems of the defence sector, and, second, have experts who can tackle those problems in practice. ■

<sup>4</sup> Orientation of CUN, NRU, RCP and UNR towards Ukraine's accession to NATO did not prevent their union with “Forward, Ukraine!” Party that advocates a non-aligned status. In the Bloc “For a United Ukraine!”, adherent of the non-aligned status — PIEU — co-operates with NDP that seeks NATO's security guarantees. Absence of any position on the issues of military policy in the programme of Party of Educationalists of Ukraine did not prevent its union with PSPU that stands for joining the Tashkent Treaty.